NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 13, NO. 40 NEW YORK, JULY 17, 1961

'NEW FRONTIER' IN THE KENNEDY COLD WAR

U. S. set to train reaction's warriors in paramilitary plan

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT KENNEDY's New Frontier is adding an ominous new front in the cold war. A major military strategy of paramilitary-unconventional-guerrilla warfare has received top priority. This is a move beyond the relative stalemate of containment and nuclear deterrence. It has a great potential for aggressiveness in the cold war and fits the present belligerent mood of the White House and Congress.

The President defines "paramilitary" as "anything outside conventional warfare." The CIA-directed invasion of Cuba is an example. Generally, the policy calls for a mixture of sabotage, subversion, guerrilla training and action in overthrowing established governments, and assassination. The **Wall Street Journal** reports: "The essence of the paramilitary concept is that America shall conduct secret war, or war in heavy camouflage."

OPEN POLICY: Such acti ns are not new. What is new is that Kennedy is organizing such warfare as part of cold war strategy, proclaiming it as U.S. policy, and gearing military and foreign aid programs to this purpose.

The $43 billion military budget provides a 150% increase in direct guerrilla warfare spending, plus wide discretion to finance further unconventional operations. The military assistance part of the foreign aid program is being amended to permit financing and organization of native paramilitary forces under U.S. direction. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor has been named White House military adviser assigned to organize paramilitary warfare.

U.S. military leaders are reported studying writings on guerrilla warfare by Mao Tse-tung and Cuban military leader Che Guevara. A new Limited Warfare Systems office has been organized in the Pentagon to develop guerrilla weapons. It is expected that the paramilitary activities heretofore carried on by the CIA will be transferred to the Pentagon.

U.S. 'CONTRIBUTION': In his March 28 message to Congress Kennedy said: "We need a greater ability to deal with guerrilla forces, insurrections, and subversion . . . We must be ready now to deal with any size of force, including externally supported bands of men; and we must help train local forces to be equally effective." While the President said local forces must be the main defense against "forces of subversion," he held that "we must be prepared to make a substantial contribution in the form of strong, highly mobile forces trained in this type of warfare, some of which must be de-

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THE GLOWING FACES OF GUINEAN CHILDREN REFLECT A NEW LIFE AND NEW HOPES
The government promises education and opportunity for all now that the French masters are ousted

KUMAR GOSHAL'S REPORT ON GUINEA

A new nation takes the path to socialism

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

CONAKRY, GUINEA

STANDING UNDER the broiling sun on a platform at Donka, on the outskirts of Conakry, Guinea, President Sekou Toure on May 12, 1957, released a hawk he had captured at Siguiri during the election campaign two months earlier. To him, the freeing of the hawk to the tumultuous applause of the audience marked—as he said—"the day the shackles of slavery were broken in Guinea."

That was but the beginning, for Guinea was still not fully independent. On Sept. 28, 1958, Guineans in a popular referendum voted 97% for cutting completely loose from the French Community. In his Independence Proclamation speech on Oct. 2, 1958, Toure referred to the freeing of the hawk a year earlier and said:

"That hawk is the symbol of our freedom, because in the sky there is no obstacle to prevent the hawk from doing what it will, going where it likes, choosing the route which it thinks is in its own interests, which meets its need to preserve its independence in the skies . . . It is still flying in the skies of Africa, and tomorrow the whole of Africa will be free, wherever the hawk flies . . ."

NATIONAL POLICY: This excerpt from Toure's speech sums up Guinea's policy: A sovereign nation determined to preserve its independence and choosing its own route to socialism for the betterment of all Guineans.

When Guinea opted out of the French Community, Frenchmen in an unparalleled display of malice, removed everything they thought belonged to them, including telephones torn out of walls. All French businessmen departed in a huff. There were, in fact, not too many valuable objects to remove, for even as a colony Guinea had been a stepchild of French imperialism, kept in feudal poverty. Nevertheless, the French actions left Guinea bereft of modern tools.

French sabotage and U.S. refusal to aid Guinea failed to work. The Guineans did not beg to be taken back into the French Community. Today their standard of living is higher. There are no fancy shop windows, as in other West-

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TEAMSTERS CHART ORGANIZING, POLITICAL DRIVES

Hoffa aspires to the John L. Lewis role

By Robert E. Light
Guardian staff correspondent

MIAMI BEACH

FREED OF court-imposed monitors after nearly four years, the Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, meeting in convention here July 3-7, charted a course to make it the dominant force in labor. About 2,200 delegates, representing 1,700,000 members, approved a program to (1) organize the unorganized, especially in the South; (2) establish a "block by block, precinct by precinct" political machine to supplement lobbies in Washington and in state capitals; (3) form alliances with other unions, including joint negotiations, to obtain common contract expiration dates, so that each might support the other's picket line and thus avoid restrictions of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law; and (4) negotiate area-wide—and eventually nation-wide—contracts with trucking lines to set uniform standards.

To gain these ends, the convention rallied around James R. Hoffa. The delegates elected him to his first uncontested five-year term as president—his previous election in 1957 was ruled "provisional" by the courts—with a tight hold on union affairs and finances. Despite attacks by the President of the United States, the Attorney General, the Senate rackets committee and top AFL-CIO leaders, Hoffa is stronger than ever.

FULL CONTROL: Cocky and confident, he outlined his program to the delegates, who were determined to give him whatever he wanted. What Hoffa wanted was full control of the union from the top and an ample war chest. He pledged in

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THE MAIL BAG

Rights rally

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Recently Rev. Martin Luther King held a rally in support of the Freedom Riders in Los Angeles. 40,000 people showed up. This was a record crowd for such gatherings and was a cause for rejoicing in the progressive press. However, no one seemed to think it strange that only 10% of these 40,000 were white. I submit that this leaves something to be desired. I am sure there are more than 4,000 progressives in L. A. and I am sure that not only progressives recognize that the heroic Negro people are not fighting simply "their own" battle.

On July 23 Rev. King will hold a rally at the Cow Palace in San Francisco. Every white person in the Bay Area who feels he is "for progress" ought to prove it by showing up. **Hodee Edwards**

Tribute to Fearing

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We must note with sorrow the death of Kenneth Fearing. He was one of the most important American poets of the 20th Century. Unlike Eliot, he did not fall in a faint on the steps of the cathedrals; unlike Pound, he did not devote his years to peddling fascism. He scorned the acquisitive Ethos which breeds envy, hatred, and cruelty. Kenneth's political sentiments were those of a rebel; he was a member of the John Reed Club and the Writer's Union. In the preface to his **Collected Poems**, he attacked the monopoly of the mass media; the mass production of profit-motive mass culture.

He was a modest, quiet man who hated flattery and publicity. But his poems were always social statements, and he was never guilty of the intolerable moderation which characterizes the majority of today's intellectuals. His writing had the quality of making you feel that subjective essence which is defined as truth.

Homage will be paid to Kenneth Fearing at the Camino Gallery, 89 E. 10th St., New York, on Thursday, July 20, at 9 p.m. His work will be read and discussed. I hope there will be similar meetings wherever men of good will congregate.

David Rosenberg

Good technique

CHICAGO, ILL.

Would it not be non-economical to call a conference of Southern Governors, as suggested by Mary Walsh Carlson (**Mailbag**, June 25), in order to explain to them the constitution and the Supreme Court decision?

Much more economically, Miss Carlson may do that herself by sending her brief letter-to-the-editor to the largest circulation newspaper in the capital or in the largest city of each of the Southern states. The names of these newspapers are in Ayer's Directory of Newspapers, available in large libraries.

That is the technique that I use to promote anti-military and pro-peace ideas. In this manner, a writer can reach millions of readers much more economically than do most peace groups, as yet rutted in the habit of mailing notices to perhaps several thousand persons or handing out leaflets to perhaps 5,000 to 50,000 persons in their city.

The letter-to-the-editor technique is rarely used by most Chicago-area readers of the GUARDIAN—if one can judge by the small number of their letters printed in Chicago's largest newspapers. **Albert Bofman**

Student appeal

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Shortly before the compact Italian liner **Aurolia** docked at New York June 8 the following radio-message was sent to President Kennedy by 37 out of the 55 young Americans on board:

"The following American students returning from studies in Europe respectfully suggest efforts to alleviate visa difficulties confronting foreign students. While in Europe we have recognized as particularly undesirable non-communist oaths and economic restrictions such as the need for a sponsor. We find that to continue them does discredit to our democracy. European students feel that it is harder to come to the U.S. than to other countries, and resent political questioning. The cause of world peace is that of the American people. After experiences abroad we are convinced that peace cannot be furthered without an increase in all possible ways of understanding among peoples."

The students greatly appreciated the warm encouragement given to their undertaking by the friendly crew and officers. The committee expressed its appreciation to Captain Correlli for, after some hesitation, according permission to radio the message to the White House.

Benjamin Nelsch

Smoky meetings

BRONX, N.Y.

I attended the recent meeting of the Liberation Committee for Africa. It was very worthwhile, but for one drawback—the smoking. All the speakers on stage smoked, and many in the audience, so that the hall just reeked of smoke.

Many persons cannot tolerate smoke in a closed, crowded hall, especially in warm weather. Some suffer from sinus, asthma and other bronchial conditions, and smoke under such conditions has a very bad physical effect. Some are forced to leave, much to their regret; others do not attend such meetings, knowing what to expect.

I am not afflicted by any such physical condition that makes me allergic to smoke. But I know many who are, and it is for their sake that I write this letter. Moreover, these meetings will be better attended if we can succeed in discouraging smoking. NO SMOKING is the positive rule in church, theater and many other public functions. So why not at meetings?

H. Kraus

Query to Truman

EL CAJON, CALIF.

So, Harry Truman says of Castro: "I think he's a murderer."

In view of this, what does Harry think of the man who ordered the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima?

Robert Karger

Upping the ante

LOUISVILLE, KY.

I'll make mine $2 a month instead of $1, which isn't much, but maybe if all $1 contributors would double, it would add up.

Anne Braden

London Evening Standard

Cuba pamphlet

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I hope every reader of the National Guardian will read and help to distribute Corliss Lamont's basic pamphlet **The Crime Against Cuba** (10c, 15 for $1, P. O. Box 42, Cathedral Station, New York 25.) It is a most valuable document. In clear and irrefutable terms it describes the American attempt to destroy Cuba. At the same time the pamphlet makes out a clear case of the total disregard of our Constitution and laws by the Administration in staging this criminal assault. President Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Allen Dulles and company involved the United States in a warlike act without sanction of Congress and in total disregard of the wishes of the American people. If our government can engage in lawless acts in one place, what is to stop it from similar action beyond the 90-mile limit? If we look carefully we can see signs of such attempts. In the New York **Times** there have appeared reports the last few days of wholesale arrests and murders of communists, labor leaders and leftists in Turkey, Bolivia, Japan. This indicates a new pattern in our fight against the "Reds," the signal for which was gixen by the U.S. Supreme Court June 5 in outlawing the American Communist Party. This new step in the cold war will lead us to another Cuban adventure. It is time the American people take notice of the threat to their rights and their liberties in the policies of the Kennedy Administration.

A. A. Heller

A plea for books

CHICAGO, ILL.

Needed, to beg, buy or borrow; Justin Gray's book, **The Inside Story of the Legion**, Boni & Gaer, 1948, and Max Lowenthal's **The Federal Bureau of Investigation**, William Sloan Assoc., 1950.

Ralph Sackley

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Four hundred thousand men equipped and trained by Chinese and Russian Communists are poised in Cuba, ready to invade Florida unless our Congress takes a strong stand of resistance.

—Gerald L.K. Smith appeal for contributions, June 28

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: A. B., Chicago, Ill.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LAST APRIL a President's Commission on Migratory Labor turned in a 188-page report describing the exploitation of 1,000,000 wandering farm workers, giving special attention to the aggravated problems of migratory Mexican labor in the Southwest. The commission made a number of moderate recommendations, some of which would slow, if not halt, the use with government connivance of some 400,000 Mexicans in this country illegally.

An agreement between the U.S. and Mexico governing employment of Mexican labor expired June 30. On that day Congress adopted a bill perpetuating the ills described in the commission's report —not only containing none of its recommendations but going counter to most of them.

All of organized labor urged the President to veto. Southwestern Congressmen, looking after the interests of big growers in their districts, urged him to sign. The growers won: Truman made the bill into law on Thursday.

—From the National Guardian, July 18, 1951

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S., U.S. possessions, $5 a year; Canada and Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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REPORT TO READERS

Winston on TV

ON THE CHANCE that your local TV or radio station did not carry the taped interview last week with Henry Winston on his release from prison, here are some of its highlights.

● He was grateful to President Kennedy for commuting his sentence to time served (after serving five years of an eight-year sentence under the conspiracy-to-teach-and-advocate provision of the Smith Act, with three years added for remaining in hiding for five years before surrendering in 1956).

Winston thought Kennedy's action was "an act of courage" but his gratitude he reserved for the people here and abroad who interceded for his release, after he had been paralyzed and gone blind due to neglect in prison, and to Fidel Castro, who brought his case to world attention in offering to send back one of his invasion prisoners in return for Winston's release. He might be most grateful, he said, had he received an earned parole in 1958, in time to save his sight.

● Did he intend to register as a Communist under the Internal Security Act as affirmed June 5 by the Supreme Court? It was not too late, the blinded Negro reminded his interviewers, for the Supreme Court to reverse its decision affirming the act; the application for hearing will be argued in October. But should the Court fail to reverse itself upon reargument, he will return to prison rather than register under the Act.

● Did he see any difference between the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administration approaches to the question of civil rights? Winston saw some improvement, but felt that fundamentally the Administration was not moving toward a solution. He was especially bitter against former President Truman, for giving aid and comfort to the KKK and the White Citizens Councils by tagging the Freedom Riders "wrong-doers."

● How did he feel about the Berlin question: Did he believe the West should continue to have free access to Berlin even though the city is wholly inside East Germany? First things first, Winston replied; our first interest here should be in guaranteeing free access to Jackson, Miss.

● Did he hold the prison authorities responsible for his blindness? Yes, he did. As a blind man, what were his plans? As a blind and sick man, he needed a long rest and time with his family, but he hoped that despite his blindness, ways would be found for him to be useful, as a Communist, in the continuing struggles for freedom and human betterment for the American people.

●

ON BERLIN and allied matters, a reader from Novato, Calif., writes to ask for the source of our statement in our Berlin story of June 26 that "the Soviet Government, on its part, is willing unconditionally to accept any Western blueprint for general and complete disarmament."

The statement is taken virtually verbatim from Premier Khrushchev's memorandum regarding nuclear test controls at the time of his Vienna meeting with President Kennedy. It was reprinted in the **Christian Science Monitor** for June 12.

Another letter on the same GUARDIAN story wants to know where we get off at, using quips like "the sesquipedalians of liberalism" in referring to the new men in the White House; also phrases like "German Irredentists." Isn't there—this friend asks—enough confusion?

Well, this letter takes us back a dozen years, to a similar letter wondering what in tarnation Konni Zilliacus meant calling Ernest Bevin a "pinchbeck Palmerston in a Keir Hardie cap."

Having straightened that one out satisfactorily, we took the pledge never again to—any more than we could help—make our readers get up off their rockers and handle that big unabridged dictionary. Now, apparently, we've backslid.

A sesquipedalian, in the Kennedy Administration, would be a Cantabrigian who uses words a foot and a half long to obscure meaning or accomplish "semantic concealment" (another phrase questioned in the same story). An Irredentist, no matter what it rhymes with, is a zealot who wants every foot of lost territory redeemed, which in present-day Germany means hungering for hunks of Poland, Czechoslovakia and maybe Austria, not to mention East Germany.

We'll try to block those jawbreakers in the future.

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. Oh, yes, pinchbeck is a Briticism for imitation. Palmerston was a prime minister like Ernest Bevin, and Keir Hardie, a miner and founder of the Labor Party which Ernest Bevin headed, wore a cap like Sherlock Holmes'.

THE REAL BOON IS TO THE MONEY-LENDERS

Kennedy Housing Act: Little aid to the poor

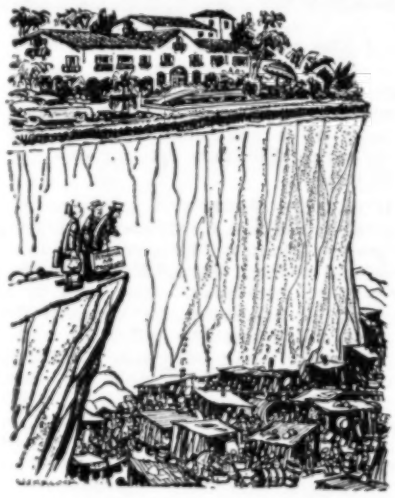
By Ed Sears

First of two articles

THE SOLUTION to America's growing housing crisis calls for (1) the ending of the housing shortage for the less affluent two-thirds of the population and (2) the abolition of all residential racial discrimination.

Recognizing the relationship between the high cost of housing, racial discrimination, and the growth of slums, John F. Kennedy said in a Presidential election speech on Oct. 20, 1960:

"There are 8 million families with income of less than $3,000 a year. There



Herblock in the Washington Post

Worldwide non-missile gap

are 15 million families with incomes from $3,000 to $6,500. It is these families that Federal housing programs were designed to help, but in recent years, Federal housing policies have neglected them. In many cities in all sections of the country, American families from minority groups suffer much worse housing conditions than their fellow citizens. Usually they can obtain only second-hand housing, despite the pressure of population increase. They are subject to overpricing, overcrowding and profiteering, and these practices accelerate decay in neighborhoods in which minorities are forced to live.

"Creating decent housing in attractive neighborhoods can constitute a dramatic advance in civil rights and equal opportunities for all."

HOUSING MESSAGE: In the housing message he sent to Congress last March, President Kennedy stressed the necessity of aiding the 15 million families who make less than $4,000 a year and the 5 million individuals living alone who make less than $1,500 a year. Nowhere in his message did he reassert the desirability of "creating decent housing in attractive neighborhoods for all our citizens."

Kennedy's program, furthermore, was not tailored to meet the needs either of the 15 million families earning less than $4,000 per year or of the total of 23 million receiving less than $6,500. His program in its essentials called for:

- No down payment, 40-year FHA-insured mortgages to families who want to buy new homes.
- No down payment, 40-year FHA-insured mortgages at below-market interest rates to limited-dividend and non-profit corporations for the construction of rental and cooperative housing.
- Liberalized home-improvement loans.
- A stepped-up urban renewal program.
- Some increase in public housing.

On June 30 Congress passed these proposals without major changes.

FINAL PROVISIONS: As finally passed, the new Housing Bill authorizes the FHA to insure 35-year mortgages up to $11,000 in low-cost areas and $15,000 in high-cost areas. It requires a down payment of 3%, which would include the closing costs. A purchaser of an $11,000 home would thus have to make a down payment of $330, and of a $15,000 home, a down payment of $450. The act also allows the FHA to extend the life of the mortgage to 40 years in hardship cases.

Suppose a man wants to buy a $15,000 house under this plan. After paying $450 to cover closing costs, he obtains an FHA-insured mortgage at the current 5¼% interest rate. On a 35-year mortgage, he must pay the bank $83.10 a month to cover the interest charges, principal payment and mortgage insurance. In addition, he must pay for heat and utilities, maintenance and repair charges, taxes and insurance on his house. The cost of all these payments, including interest and principal, comes to $127.58 a month. This requires an income of over $7,600 a year or $147 a week. A buyer of this type of house thus must earn considerably more than the "forgotten families" Kennedy referred to in his Oct. 20, 1960, speech.

Nor does extending the mortgage to 40 years help much. This would merely reduce the total monthly charges by $3.15.

OUT OF REACH: The purchaser of a $10,000 house would require a smaller income, $103 a week if he obtained a 35-year mortgage or $101 on a 40-year mortgage (see Chart A). This would help some of the "forgotten families" Kennedy referred to. There are, however, very few $10,000 homes available. The National Housing Conference in a recent survey of the lowest-priced homes in 31 cities found that the median home in this category cost $12,300. Homes in this price range are out of the reach of families earning less than $6,500 a year.

Garel in the Wall Street Journal

"I have everything to live for—and none of it paid for!"

Thus in reality few, if any, "forgotten families" will be helped by the provision extending the life of mortgages to 35 or 40 years.

The main beneficiaries from this provision will be the banks and insurance companies, which will reap huge profits from the interest charges on the mortgages. A home owner with a 35-year mortgage will have to pay almost $35,000 for a $15,000 house and more than $23,000 for a $10,000 house.

ALTERNATE WAY: Clearly, a housing bill designed to help the home buyer would have drastically reduced interest rate instead of lengthening the life of the mortgage. The monthly interest, principal and mortgage insurance costs of a 20-year, 2½% $15,000 mortgage come to $83.25, only 15 cents more than those of a 35-year, 5¼%, mortgage. The total interest and mortgage insurance charges of the former add up to $5,000, while those of the latter are almost $20,000.

The monthly payments on a 20-year, 2½%, $10,000 mortgage are $55.50, only 10 cents more than those on a 35-year, 5¼% mortgage. The total interest and mortgage insurance charges come to $3,300 for the 20-year mortgage and to $13,300 for the 15-year mortgage (see Chart B).

Instead of helping the home buyer, the Administration's long-term, high-interest mortgages saddle him with an enormous debt for most of his life and force him to pay out in interest and insurance charges sums greater than the value of his home.

Yet this provision, which has been hailed as the symbol of the "new frontier" in housing, is the most significant innovation the Kennedy administration has made in this field.

MIDDLE GROUP: The new bill does offer below-market rate of interest mortgages to cooperatives, limited-dividend and non-profit corporations. In exchange for low-cost mortgages these corporations are to build rental units to house those families whose incomes are too high for public housing but too low for new, private housing.

The National Housing Conference, an organization interested in furthering low-cost housing, estimates that the minimum cost of a two-bedroom apartment under the program would be $97 a month. This would be in a 2 to 3-story walk-up building. The minimum cost for a similar apartment in an elevator building would be $120 a month.

Such rentals would require annual incomes of from $5,800 to $7,200, somewhat lower than those required under the 35-year mortgage plan but still too high for most of America's forgotten families.

Furthermore, the number of these units is limited by the financial provisions of the bill to about 120,000. Thus, this provision, although a step forward, will be of little help to the 23 million families earning less than $6,500 a year.

Another innovation was the liberalization of home improvement loans. The new bill permits the FHA to insure loans up to $10,000 for a period of 20 years at about 6% interest to home owners wanting to improve their properties. Up until now home owners could not obtain insurance for loans over $3,000 and for a period of over 5 years. The interest rate exceeded 9%.

(Rental aspects of the Housing Act will be considered in the second Guardian article.)

Chart B on mortgage costs

Mortgage	$15,000	$15,000	$10,000	$10,000
Interest Rate (%)	5¼	2½	5¼	2½
Years	35	20	35	20
Monthly Payments, Interest Principal & Mortgage Insurance	$83.10	$83.25	$55.40	$55.50
Total Payment Over Life of Mortgage	$34,902	$19,980	$23,268	$13,320
Total Interest & Mortgage Insurance Costs	$19,902	$ 4,980	$13,268	$ 3,320

Chart A on home costs

Mortgage (5¼%)	$15,000	$15,000	$10,000	$10,000
Years	35	40	35	40
Total Monthly Costs	$127.58	$124.43	$89.42	$87.32
Interest, Principal & Mortgage Insurance	(83.10)	(79.95)	(55.40)	(53.30)
Heat & Utilities*	(18.96)	(18.96)	(16.46)	(16.46)
Taxes*	(16.43)	(16.43)	(10.10)	(10.10)
Maintenance & Repair*	(7.09)	(7.09)	(5.96)	(5.96)
House Insurance*	(2.00)	(2.00)	(1.50)	(1.50)
Required Annual Income**	$7,655	$7,466	$5,365	$5,239
Required Weekly Income**	$147	$144	$103	$101

* Estimated by Leon Keyserling, economist.

** Based on assumption that housing costs should not exceed 20% of income.

KENNEDY ROLE ON CUBA BLASTED

First Fair Play conference

AT ITS FIRST ANNUAL national conference in New York July 1 and 2 the Fair Play for Cuba Committee charged that the Kennedy Administration violated U.S. neutrality laws in the role it played in the April 17 abortive invasion of Cuba.

The conference, attended by more than 60 delegates from 27 Fair Play chapters, called on Americans "to demand of our government that it proclaim immediately that it will respect and enforce our neutrality laws and all international agreements" and urged that "immediate action be taken against those who have violated our neutrality laws, including Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency."

The conference created a national advisory council to meet semi-annually to aid the executive secretary.

Despite harassment by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, the Fair Play membership has grown from 30 in April, 1960, to more than 7,000.

Fair Play chapters reported other harassment such as cancellations of meeting hall contracts, refusals by daily newspapers of Fair Play advertisements, and violence inflicted on picket lines.

Arthur Stein dies; fought D.C. racism

ARTHUR STEIN, a founder of the United Federal Workers of America, CIO, and secretary-treasurer of this and its successor union, United Public Workers, from 1941 through 1949, died of a heart attack in New York City June 27. During the New Deal years he was a research statistician in NRA, WPA, WPB and other government agencies and since 1949 had been engaged in market research in Washington and New York.

As Washington residents until 1953, Arthur Stein and his wife, Annie, were leaders in the campaign to eliminate segregation in the nation's capital. Mrs. Stein was a prime mover with the venerable Negro leader, Mary Church Terrell, in winning validation in 1952 of the 1873 laws barring discrimination in District of Columbia restaurants.

With their children—Philip, now 20 and a Columbia University student; and Eleanor, now 14 and in high school—the Steins moved in 1953 to 131 Westminster Road, Brooklyn, N.Y., where Mrs. Stein has since been a leader in desegregation activities in the New York City school system. At the time of his death he was active in the Brooklyn chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Teamster meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

return to build the strongest union in the country at the bargaining table and in political cloak rooms.

As an undisputed national figure, Hoffa seemed out to cut a niche for himself in union history. As a model he chose John L. Lewis. Like Hoffa, Lewis was maligned in the press and by union and political leaders. But Lewis stuck to his course and now he is accepted and sometimes applauded in the most "respectable" circles.

Lewis never had much truck with opposition in his United Mine Workers. Union policy was set by Lewis and dissenters were treated as trouble-makers. He did his best to raise miners' wages, and himself drew premium pay among U.S. labor leaders. "Free enterprise" never had a stauncher defender than Lewis, yet labor never had a better advocate. Lewis' leadership was vital in the drive to organize the unorganized in the Thirties and in the formation of the CIO, which eventually became the country's most democratic force.

SWIFT GROWTH: The Teamsters union is already the largest and fastest growing one in the country. It has added 200,000 members since 1957, when it was expelled from the AFL-CIO. It also has an enormous treasury, which the convention moved to increase further. It does not lack for technical help; Hoffa referred to the platoon of union counsel as "the finest lawyers money can buy."

Hoffa has withstood the hard blows well, but whether he will measure up to Lewis may depend on his ability to reject the soft comforts of respectability his adversaries are likely to offer. The AFL-CIO is racked with feuds; it holds together because union leaders have nowhere to go. A realignment in labor in the next few years seems likely, with the Teamsters as a focus. Hoffa's big test will come if history grants him the choice of leading labor toward new economic and political horizons or trudging with it back down the State Department's garden path.

While much in the Teamsters is far from ideal, against the shrinking, government-dominated AFL-CIO it is the best hope to revitalize labor. At least it has not forgotten that a union's main job is to organize to fight for better working conditions.

ACTION IN SOUTH: Hoffa's keynote speech conjured visions of great days for workingmen who signed up with the Teamsters. "They will have legislative machinery second to none," he said, "to take care of our members in the halls of Congress." Pointing to the 41,000,000 unorganized, he said: "We will find the reasons and the wherewith to move into the South, move into the rural territories of every single state to organize . . ."

To ease the task, Hoffa sought and gained major revisions in the union's constitution. They included broadening the union's jurisdiction to "all workmen engaged in industry." Hoffa said the Teamsters would not raid other union's plants. But, he said, if a union is "not organizing its jurisdiction," the Teamsters will move in. He denied allegations that he wanted to form a new federation. He also precluded a return to the AFL-CIO except on his own terms. He envisioned the Teamsters as a catch-all union, much like the Mine Workers' District 50.

The Daily News, Washington D.C.
"And some day some fanatic will be demanding a five-day week."

CONVENTION SETUP: Other constitution revisions gave a large treasury to the leadership and little voice to the rank and file. They included: (1) an increase in per capita tax paid by locals to the International from 40 cents to $1 a month; (2) a $1-a-month dues increase; (3) designation of local union officials as delegates to the International convention, with rank-and-file members to be elected only if a local has fewer officials than delegate seats.

Of the 60 cents per capita increase, 22½ cents is to go to a pension fund for local officials to retire after 25 years at 45% of pay. Hoffa's salary was raised from $50,000 to $75,000 a year, in addition to the tradition... Teamster practice of paying its president's expenses in full, as well as his wife's, during business trips. Vice presidents, except those already on the International payroll, were voted $1,000 a month for their duties on the executive board.

There was some opposition but it was disjointed and it lacked conviction. Some delegates complained of a lack of democracy in the union and others appealed for local autonomy. Hoffa gave each a full turn at the microphone. But when the votes were taken, the delegates were at least 25 to 1 for Hoffa.

The convention passed no resolutions on international affairs and it limited discussion of national issues to needed welfare legislation. It rejected a strong civil rights resolution from the floor and one supporting the Freedom Riders in favor of a committee motion vaguely opposing "discrimination for race, color or creed."

The ILWU Dispatcher, San Francisco
The practical meaning of unity

WILLIAMS TALKS: A principal guest speaker was noted civil liberties attorney Edward Bennett Williams, the union's general counsel. He outlined the evils of "guilt by association" and "guilt by silence." He explained why innocent Congressional committee witnesses had to invoke the Fifth Amendment. Williams concluded: "I believe that we should stand foursquare in the light of our own experience in this new decade for civil liberties for all, civil rights, racial equality and social justice, rights of conscience and the utmost freedom for the individual under law."

Other speakers included Democratic Representatives Joseph E. Karth (Minn.) and Alfred Santangelo (N.Y.) and investment counselor John Roosevelt, a Republican, son of former President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Some union leaders came to pay respects. AFL-CIO leaders Joseph Curran of the Natl. Maritime Union and George Baldanzi of the United Textile Workers apologized for the Teamsters' expulsion. Curran, an AFL-CIO vice president, said he had introduced a resolution to no avail at every executive council meeting to invite the Teamsters back to labor's house. He pleaded for labor unity so that it can speak "with a great political voice."

BRIDGES' PLEA: The economic fruits of unity were verified by Harry Bridges, whose Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in joint effort with the Teamsters recently won a 21-cent increase for 25,000 warehousemen in Northern California. As a brother outcast—the ILWU was expelled by the CIO in a witchhunt in 1949—Bridges told the convention: "We certainly have to demonstrate . . . the importance of re-establishing the old-fashioned idea of trade union unity, trade union solidarity, the right to work together and fight together and the hell with the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law."

He called on the Teamsters "to expose not only the labor phonies, but the phony politicians that pretend they are

out to protect the rights of labor." He singled out Secy. of Labor Arthur Goldberg and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy.

Bridges applauded the Teamster leadership for its organizing and bargaining activities. He concluded: "I am convinced this union and the work it is doing in the interest of all workers of this country in the long run will make a greater contribution to our national security, to the welfare of our country, than any other single organized movement—that includes the Peace Corps."

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AN APPEAL

To Defend Constitutional Liberties

DEAR FRIENDS:

Like many other Americans, most likely you too were deeply disturbed by the June 5 decisions of the Supreme Court in the McCarran Act and Smith Act cases. By a razor-thin 5-4 margin, the Court upheld an order requiring the Communist Party to register under the McCarran Act, and thereby to denounce itself as an agent of a foreign power engaged in a treasonable conspiracy against our government—an accusation for which not one shred of real proof has ever been produced. By the same bare majority the Court affirmed the membership provision of the Smith Act making it a crime to be adjudged an "active' and "knowing" member of the Communist Party.

These decisions decree in effect, for the first time in American history, the outlawing of a legitimate political party on the basis of its beliefs—an action which must shock every American who cherishes our democratic traditions. The registration provision of the McCarran Act extends far beyond the Communist Party to embrace, under the designation "Communist-front organization," any group which so much as takes the same position as the Communist Party on any political or social issue. And, as Justice Black said in his stirring dissent: *"When the practice of outlawing parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end."*

Truly, those decisions have far-reaching, ominous implications for the rights of *all* Americans. They threaten the rights of all to freedom of speech, press and assembly. They menace the rights of organized labor, freedom to fight for the rights of the Negro people, and not least, freedom to speak out for peace.

Small wonder, then, that a wide range of public opinion has already placed itself in opposition to the decisions, and that they have been criticized by such diverse publications as the **New York Times**, the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch**, the **Washington Post**, the **Boston Herald**, the **Nashville Tennessean**, **The Commonweal**, **The New Republic**, **The Nation** and the **National Guardian**. So extensive is this sentiment that Justice Frankfurter was impelled to grant a stay of execution of the registration order until October, when the Supreme Court will consider a petition for a rehearing.

We are firmly convinced that growing numbers of Americans will join in protesting this odious invasion of constitutional liberties, once they know the facts. And we are confident that the decisions will ultimately be reversed at the bar of public opinion, the highest court of all.

It is to bring the facts to the American people and to help wage the legal battles involved that the Citizens' Committee for Constitutional Liberties has come into being. Side by side with all other defenders of civil liberties, the Committee is dedicated to waging the fight against these and all similar repressive laws, basing itself on the proposition that defense of the rights of Communists is the first line of defense of the rights of every American.

To carry on these activities will require a great deal of money. The Committee has therefore undertaken to raise a fund of $100,000 to be used for legal defense, for the preparation of literature, for advertisements (a full-page ad in the **New York Times** alone costs $5,000), for mailings, radio and TV time and like purposes.

We need your help. We ask you to give—and give generously—in defense of your rights, of everyone's rights. Send us your contributions now. Make your check payable to Dr. Oakley C. Johnson, Treasurer.

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BIG FINANCIAL DEALS IMPERILED, AS WELL AS OIL SUPPLY

Britain's stakes double in Kuwait

By David Wesley
Special to the Guardian

THE HEADLONG descent of British military forces on tiny oil-soaked Kuwait at the head of the Persian gulf has again focused attention on the anachronistic and dangerous remnants of imperialism in the world. What most of the press has missed in the Kuwait affair is that British loss of that sheikdom, a spit of sand no bigger than Connecticut, could all but bankrupt the world's fourth greatest power.

The Middle East crisis developed swiftly. On June 19 Britain, uneasy at having a protectorate in a rising sea of Arab nationalism, turned its 62-year-old relationship with the ruling family of Kuwait into a "friendship" pact. This nominally transformed Kuwait into an "independent state," though it changed nothing so far as the Kuwaitis—and the British—were concerned.

IRAQ CLAIM: It did, however, offer Iraq a chance to press an old contention that Kuwait, once a part of the Iraqi province of Basra, belonged by historical right to Iraq. Six days after Kuwait's "independence," Iraqi Premier Abdul Karim Kassim publicly voiced the claim and announced Bagdad's intention of using "all peaceful means" to annex Kuwait. No invasion followed, and Prime Minister Macmillan called the Iraqi announcement probably "no more than words." But, he added, "we must take no risk."

By the end of the week British troops, ships and planes were converging on Kuwait, London citing rumors of Iraqi troop movements, denied in Bagdad and never substantiated by the British. While British forces were en route, the Foreign Office admitted that Sir Abdullah Al-Salim-Al-Sabah, Kuwait's ruling sheik, had not yet requested British help under the two-week-old agreement. The aircraft carrier Bulwark, out of Hong Kong, arrived in Kuwait Bay at the moment Kuwait's Supreme Council was approving, with British "advice," a call for aid. In two days the desert swarmed with tanks and thousands of troops.

FINANCIAL SETUP: The reason the British could "take no risk" stems not just from Kuwait's oil—one-fifth of the world's total known reserves—but equally from the financial ramifications of its exploitation. Ownership of Kuwait Oil Co. is evenly divided between Gulf Oil and British Petroleum. The British government owns 51% of the English company. Thus the government receives a quarter of the profits from an oil pool twice the size of all U.S. reserves.

But Britain also meets nearly half of its oil needs from this one source, which is in the sterling area. Without Kuwait Britain would have to pay for most of its oil imports in "hard" currencies, which it can ill afford to do. Furthermore, the rest of Kuwait oil—almost a billion dollars worth annually sold elsewhere—brings vast amounts of "hard" currencies into currency reserves of the sterling area which are banked in London.

Lastly, one-third of Abdullah's take from the Kuwait Oil Co., estimated at about $3 million a day, is banked and invested in London. This is the largest single source of capital coming into the London market yearly. Moreover, the billion or so dollars of withdrawable funds that the Sheik and his family have cached in London banks constitute about one-fourth of Britain's entire reserves of gold and dollars.

Hence without Kuwait oil in the sterling area and Kuwait funds in London, Britain might be on her uppers.

ARAB DILEMMA: The situation is just as acute on the other side. Britain's gain is the Arab world's loss—at a time when this huge area, finally freed from the imperialist yoke, desperately needs developmental capital. And this makes Kuwait a shaky sheikdom far beyond the immediate problem of Iraq's threat of annexation. It is only the bitter political rivalries now immobilizing Arab statesmanship and all but isolating Kassim that have caused the Arab states for the moment to support Abdullah's claim of nationhood.

Nevertheless, despite Nasser's animosity toward Kassim, the UAR has insisted in the UN Security Council, backed by the U.S.S.R., on "immediate" British withdrawal, and has suggested an Iraq-Kuwait merger, like that of Syria and Egypt, as a substitute for annexation. If the Arab states were assured that Kuwait oil revenues in Kassim's hands would benefit the Arab world as a whole, the current struggle would be of a different order.

This is a situation—duplicated in the nearby British protectorates of Bahrein and Qatar and in the Arabian-American Oil Co. (Aramco) operation in Saudi Arabia—that awaits only the flowering of Arab unity to become ripe for a forcible solution. Commented **The Economist** of London:

A QUIET STREET IN KUWAIT
But oil brings crisis

"If Kuwait is effectively defended from Iraqi pretensions by the intervention of the other Arab states, the Arabs will surely look for some return. Unless such a return is forthcoming, the next storm may find the ruler bereft of any protection except the British umbrella, appeals for which would do him little good in the long run and would certainly cause the British Government grave embarrassment."

U. S. paramilitary

(Continued from Page 1)

ployed in forward areas . . ."

The **Wall Street Journal** has highlighted this new military strategy in articles by Henry Gemmill on May 16 and by Louis Kraar on May 24. Gemmill wrote: "As military doctrine, the paramilitary theory actually looms as the latest step in a progressive lowering of the U.S. concept of how to wage war . . . It is a doctrine which could concentrate on brutalities performed in the dark . . . America will now introduce more massive doses of 'dirty' maneuvering—directly copied from the communists or, if possible, even breaking new ground . . ."

The paramilitary program will include a wide variety of unconventional activities:

- Expansion of U.S. Army guerrilla forces.
- Organizing, training and financing native guerrilla forces, as is being done now in South Vietnam.
- Organizing, training, and financing refugee forces to overthrow governments unfriendly to the U.S. The Army Research Chief, Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudeau has been circulating in the Pentagon a document saying, "We must find a way to overthrow a Communist regime in power short of general war and even short of limited war." This paper outlines plans for overthrowing Eastern European governments. The **Journal** (May 16) also reports "indications . . . that at least one such maneuver is being blueprinted at the moment, for execution in a vital nation distant from Cuba."
- Promoting internal disruption, subversions, strikes, sabotage, and assassination in Communist countries. "Honorable men of high rank now sit in this city (Washington, D.C.) calmly discussing the possibilities of such things as methodical assassination of Communist leaders abroad" (**Wall Street Journal**, May 16).
- Finance "internal anti-subversion" forces in friendly countries. White House proposals for military aid to Latin America would eliminate restrictions on use of such funds "against civilian populations" for internal security purposes.

A SOLDIER OF REACTION—U.S. TRAINED
This anti-Castro Cuban flopped on his invasion job

Million signatures sought to free Braden, Wilkinson

COMMITTEES to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities are circulating throughout the country petitions asking clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, now serving one-year terms for contempt of Congress in refusing to answer HUAC question. Wilkinson is field representative of the Natl. Committee to Abolish HUAC and Braden is field secretary and editor for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a civil rights organization.

Aim of the petition drive is one million signatures for freedom of the two civil liberties leaders jailed May 1 after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld their convictions. Both based their refusal to answer HUAC questions on the First Amendment. Another national petition initiated independently by 18 outstanding Americans has been signed by over 1,000 prominent persons. Among the initiators are: Grenville Clark, Prof. Henry Steele Commager, Irving Dilliard, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, James Imbrie, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, Dr. Reinhold Neibuhr, Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, Clarence Pickett, and Justine Wise Polier.

Because of the close relationship of the struggles for civil rights and for civil liberties, 1,000 white and Negro integration leaders have signed still another petition urging clemency for Braden.

Clemency petitions are available from the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, 555 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles; the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Suite 811, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2; the N.Y. Council to Abolish HUAC, Room 442, 150 West 34th St., New York, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.

Braden and Wilkinson are in Federal prison at Greenville, S.C. They may receive mail only from an approved list of family and business associates. However, on birthdays prisoners may receive greetings. Birthday greetings for Wilkinson may be mailed by August 16 to: Frank Wilkinson, Box P.M.B. No. 1647, Donaldson Air Force Base, S.C.

Housing help, but not for poor

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Report on Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

ernized cities in colonies, where poor people gape at fineries they can never hope to buy; but the Guineans have all they need in basic goods, at prices they can afford. Children go to schools, the youth go to colleges, the sick have medical care, transportation is improving, sports and cultural projects flourish. In the last year Guineans have built 5,000 miles of roads (as much as was built throughout the French rule), 335 classrooms, 672 bridges, 28 clinics.

In the Lycee de Donka, modern buildings designed for beauty as well as utility are already up; more are being built. Students from all over Guinea who go there to live and study at government expense have football and basketball fields and other recreational facilities.

CONAKRY HUMS: Inflation has been curbed, prices have been stabilized, gasoline is plentiful. The once-somnolent streets of Conakry, shaded by giant trees and bordered by gardens flaming with color, are humming with activity—government business, commercial transactions and the old-fashioned market-place trading blend the old and the new.

Because it had imaginative leaders, a will to live in freedom and good friends, Guinea was not forced to seek help from the West. Ghana was the first to offer a loan—$50,000,000. The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia supplied sugar and milk; doctors came from Bulgaria. Czechoslovakia and East Germany; teachers came from everywhere—from the U.S., France, the U.S.S.R., and even North Vietnam.

The government raised the guaranteed minimum wage by 40% and the family allowance by 50%, and increased paid holidays from 15 to 21. It reduced prices of basic necessities, opened state stores to supply these items at fixed prices and curbed profiteering by Lebanese stores still doing business. Last year it replaced the old French colonial West African currency by Guinean francs not tied to any foreign currency.

AN 'INVESTMENT': Most important of all, the Toure regime made a start on wiping the social slate clean by abolishing tribal chieftains—the feudal mainstays of colonial exploitation—and by taking over their land. This land cannot be bought or sold; it is parceled out to families for cultivation or turned into cooperatives and collectives, which is the ultimate goal. On July 1, 1960, the government launched its Three-Year-Plan, which stresses agriculture. The Five-Year Plan which will follow is geared for industrialization. But the government lays the heaviest stress on "human investment."

Driving beyond Kindia one day at noon, I asked my friend at the wheel to stop as I heard the beat of drums and handclapping below the road. We walked over to the spot. There two boys were beating drums with sticks; six girls were clapping hands to the drumbeat and a dozen lads with hoes were digging in an ever-widening circle, the traditional way to prepare ground for planting rice. A man was supervising the work.

Noon to 2 p.m. is the period when all work stops; offices and stores close. But these youngsters were contributing labor to speed cultivation. This was "human investment."

One can travel through the streets of Conakry or in the country any Sunday and see the young people digging trenches for cables, planting shade trees along new roads, erecting schools. This is all human investment, cheerfully, voluntarily contributed by the youth. Drums beat from Conakry to N'Zerekore to the rhythm of human investment.

ONE PARTY: Human investment was inspired by China and put into practice here by the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG), whose secretary general is Sekou Toure. PDG has been the only political party in Guinea since the 97% popular vote for its program in 1958, after which it absorbed the opposition party, some of whose members hold important positions in the government.

Popular democracy functions under PDG through village council meetings; every village of clustered huts has a concrete building with one large room, the council meeting place. Here men, women and young people discuss PDG programs, approve or amend them, send delegates to larger conventions.

The Toure government is striving to build a socialist society, but adapted to conditions in a country where class struggle does not exist. In education, it plans to take over complete responsibility; the mission schools will be allowed to finish training those now enrolled; then they will be closed. Guinea expects to provide, by 1970, compulsory education for all children 7 to 15.

DAM PROJECT: Chinese experts are teaching crop diversification; an East German firm has about completed Guinea's first modern press. Plans are under way to utilize the Konkoure River to build Guinea's equivalent of Ghana's Volta River Dam, ensuring power for factories and general use. Experts are coming to explore Guinea's rich mineral wealth—beside bauxite—of copper, manganese, gold and diamonds.

Toure is not opposed to foreign capital investment from any source if, as he said, it "will be integrated into our lives and . . . contribute to the development of our economies" and will not "impoverish our countries and . . . compromise our political and social stability."

No one pretends that everything is working out perfectly. But Toure has shown no signs of compromise on his basic program: Building a socialist society fitting the needs of his country; accepting economic cooperation from all sources, but without strings.

Above all, he has been working for the freedom of all Africa and the unity of free African states. He has given asylum to leaders of the Angolan liberation struggle; and Guinea's General Union of Negro African Workers has sponsored a trade union school for Africans.

Near the still-French-owned, elegant Hotel de France, I found a pile of junk consisting of the monuments France had erected in Conakry. One was of a gigantic, paternalistic European with one arm around a puny, naked African adoringly looking up at the giant. The statue was leaning against the wall, facing the ocean. The French government has been asked to pick up the statues and take them home.

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'Salt of Earth' in China

PEKING

SALT OF THE EARTH, the first film from the United States to open here in over a decade, is playing the Peking circuits, and dubbed in Chinese, will be released to the rest of the country—a potential audience of several tens of millions. Everyone I have talked with nothing but praise for the film, real rush-up-to-tell-you enthusiasm. When the crowd outside a neighborhood theater saw the ticket chairman of my trade union handing me mine (here tickets are bought in advance, and often someone from the union does it to save everybody's time), he was mobbed by would-be buyers asking for spares.

The **People's Daily,** Communist Party paper, gave the opening a full page of features, telling of the Bayard, N.M., strike, the Mine-Mill union and stories of the filmmakers, and articles have appeared in other papers and magazines. In **People's Daily,** Yuan Shui-pai declared the film was "a truthful and successful presentation of the militant American people . . . (who are) the backbone of the United States. It is true that while U.S. imperialism stands as our chief enemy, the American people, the American workers, are brothers and sisters, and comrades in arms."

ORDINARY Chinese film-goers with whom I have talked are clear on this point: That the same kind of people who exploited the Bayard miners, harassed the filmmakers and managed to keep **Salt** from getting a wide showing in commercial theaters in the U.S. are are one with those occupying Taiwan and contending China is being "belligerent" for wanting to get it back.. It was good to have this understanding confirmed through a film like **Salt.** This is important for a section of moviegoers who formed their impression of the U.S. from slick Hollywood films that flooded China before the liberation —and from the U.S. troops stationed here between 1945 and 1949, whose wanton and frequently chauvinistic conduct did not make them well liked.

In **Salt,** the Chinese audience is seeing working people like themselves. Viewing the film again here with different eyes than when I first saw it in the U.S., I found myself thinking, "These are my countrymen—but they could be Chinese." The miners were fighting against discrimination and for a better life, just like Chinese miners, and Esperanza, working hard to raise her family and being dominated by her husband, could have been a Chinese woman of a few years ago. Cops are cops in both old China and un-liberated New Mexico. And as one of my friends commented, "The capitalists in that film looked just like the agents of the foreign companies in China before the liberation."

OF COURSE, THERE ARE national differences in the film. It was remarked that since the struggle against male supremacy almost seemed to overshadow the class aspect of the strike, some Chinese viewers might get the idea that the U.S. workers were just "playing at the class struggle." (I pointed out the place of the one within the other would have been understood in the U.S., and that the film was not made in the plain-spoken freedom of post-liberation China, but at a time in the U.S. when if you even let on that you knew there were social classes you'd land before the HUAC.) It is true, however, that the humble furnishings of Esperanza's crowded home were beyond the wildest dreams of a worker in pre-liberation China; that in a Chinese rendition of the theme, the bitterness of long months without a paycheck might have been epitomized by the death of a child rather than the repossession of a record player.

FOR THE MILLIONS of Chinese wives and mothers who have worked full-time at production tasks in rural and urban communes, the story of Esperanza is also their story. And at first, the objections of husbands in China were no less than those of Ramon in **Salt.**

Altogether, I'm glad it was **Salt** that introduced U.S. workers to the Chinese people. For building friendly relations, it was the next best thing to a few live delegations.

As the Bayard women were hauled off to jail in the back of a truck singing "Solidarity Forever" (how many stories have I heard in China of revolutionaries who went to jail—or death—with a song on their lips as a final protest) a great cheer rose from the audience, though few in the theater understood the words of the song.

This, too, I thought, is solidarity—and it knows no national bounds.

—Constance Mercer

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BOOKS

Du Bois' Epic of the Negro

In **WORLDS OF COLOR,*** the third book in Dr. Du Bois' trilogy, **The Black Flame**, we are reminded that the novel is the most protean of art forms. Du Bois, in the working out of his trilogy, apparently decided to eschew the usual scenic construction of the historical novel in which each phase of its motion is contained in a dramatized incident. He has chosen to write in the form of a Homeric conversation in which the voice of the narrator is always present, cresting to peaks of insight and passion with the long, slow undulation of the all-containing, omnipotent Homeric sea.

The reader is warned of this departure from the stereotype in the postscript to the first volume of this monumental work, **The Ordeal of Mansart**, for it must be said that if he is panting after the easy rewards promised by the blurbese, both on the jacket and in the text, of successful novels of this kind, he will not make it. Du Bois set himself a stern task: "To make unknown and unknowable history relate an ordered tale to the reader." Here he is working out of his own consciousness and values, making his own decision of who, and what fragment, in a remembered past should be invested with significance. Before one even considers the literary aspects of the book itself, Du Bois' inescapable presence as a great man writing and thinking obtrudes on us, as does the nobility of his purpose, which he states as this:

"In the great tragedy of Negro slavery in the United States, and its aftermath, much of the documented history is lacking because of the deep feeling involved and the fierce desire of men to defend their fathers and themselves. This I have sought to correct in my study of the slave trade and reconstruction. If I had time and money I would have continued this pure historical research. But this opportunity failed and time is running out. Yet I would rescue from my long experience something of what I have learned and conjectured and thus I am trying by the method of historical fiction to complete the cycle of history which has for half a century engaged my thought, research and action."

CONSIDERING that Du Bois has lived . . . and far more sentiently than any other man alive . . . through the history of the American Negro for 80 years and more — the period covered by the trilogy—and has written 15 other books, some of which are acknowledged historical and sociological classics, it would take a bold man to state if and where he went wrong in **Worlds of Color**, or in the other volumes of his trilogy. Certainly I do not feel myself capable of it but still we know that it will put up the backs of many critics who should know better and will be pointedly ignored in almost all of the mass media.

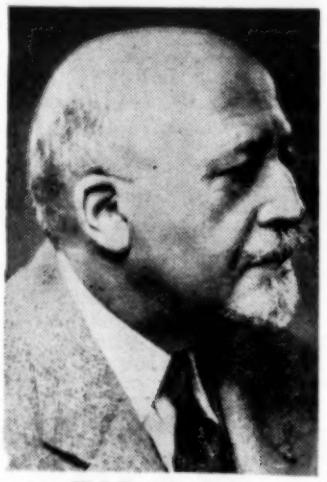
The prime reason for this, of course, is that the content treats with apostolic directness the crimes and brutalities of this society against its brothers. But there is another point at which critical leverage can be applied, and that is in the matter of technique. Bluntly, it is not, as my favorite editor likes to say of my own work, "fictiony" enough. There is not enough of minute description of purely external experience, of faces, clothes, gestures, the tones of individual voices, the shifting scenes in which the characters and occurrences germinate . . . not enough to be "fictiony," that is.

Deliberately, the characters are presented so that they make as much sense as possible, and so as to infect the reader with their universal human condition, rather than as blunted by the constant interruptions and indirections which disconnect them from the main line of their trajectors in real life. Too much technique, too much surface realism, would obscure the ideas which Du Bois wishes to press, like a printer's mat, on the minds of the readers. Like the rest of Du Bois' work, its essential character is the expression of the great emancipatory ideas of this century, and when they come in conflict with some question of form, the form gives way to the content, as it should.

In **Worlds of Color** Du Bois takes a line of austere objectivity to bring to its climax this natural history of the Negro Manuel Mansart and his family. He has brought them through scenes of great turbulence and trial in their early days and they are now, for the most part, as successful and fulfilled as any American Negro family can be. Manuel Mansart has become the president of a Negro college and is reasonably content that he is on the front line of his people's advance and that education and a more exalted sense of ethics all around will solve the "Negro problem." Even a trip to Europe and some contact with white men of power does not divest him of this hope. However, he comes to learn that the struggle for bread in other parts of the world keeps white men and women on the same level of degradation, crime and helplessness as the Negro in America. He hears about the Russian revolution and thus becomes aware of the great dilemma of the West, the definition of "freedom," which is to him "the right to vote, to work, to go to school." But to an increasing number of the world's people, "freedom is the right to use the wealth they produce for themselves. Nothing else matters."

The more Mansart thinks of this, the more he realizes how much of the real world is being hidden from him. He and a brilliant woman character, Jean Du Bignon, begin to explore the great contradiction here; that the right to vote, to work, to go to school can be, and is completely negated when the wealth the people have produced is used against them.

With great skill Du Bois suggests that the ways and means of this exploration become increasingly constricted; that socially and intellectually the American Negro is not only being kept out of those events which determine the shape of his own life, but that he is not even made aware of them. The same can be said of the average white man, but Mansart's basic knowledge and perception are far above average and still he cannot get within reaching distance of the electric centers of power which put him and his people entirely at the mercy of political caprice. Mansart and his family are victims of tokenism; they have all the outward triumphs of coming "up from slavers," but the whole facade is as thin as eggshell: their lives can be cracked open at a tap from the meanest and most ignorant of white men and all the product of their steady toil, sacrifice and achievement drained off into some gutter of rejection in a split second.



W.E.B. DU BOIS
Fiction with noble purpose

ONE WONDERS if the real name of Du Bois' character is "Man's Art," for this well mannered, well adjusted, patient, highly intelligent and socially useful American Negro represents one of the finest inventions of the American ruling class. He is set up and allowed to operate at his fullest capacity just as long as he does not ask to be put at the sources of political and economic power, as long as he allows others to pull his switches.

In the last hundred pages of **Worlds of Color**, Du Bois lets up on the suppression of those details which might hinder the transmission of feelings and ideas about complex subject matter and allows the reader to enter into the totality of some significant lives. There is an attack on Mansart and Jean Du Bigon which tears away, overnight, every vested interest they have established in the world of people who are important. This is played out against the overwhelming debacle of virtue in the early 1950s in the United States, when men and women who had been serving their country all their lives with their talents, their genius, and above all, their consciences, were broken and cast aside af is they were no more than old clothes stuffed with straw. It is in the last third of the book that Du Bois reveals his astounding power of prophecy and regeneration: the writing here is as fresh and ideologically complex, as touchingly human and massively didactic as Melville's when he wrote **Moby Dick** at the age of 31.

In these three novels Du Bois has taken on an almost impossible task of incubating a work of art in a fluid solution of total ideological content. He had to rule out again and again the surface phenomena, the scenic interplay which would have been so easy for him, one of the finest of rhapsodical stylists, to make room for direct comment on the real world as he knows it. If he had world enough and time, he could have given us all the sensual pleasures and titillations of the mindless, vegetable areas of our existence, but he had, as he promised, to "set down a fair version of the truth of an era."

HE HAD TO present, with unerring psychological truth, the pre-conditions of this apocalyptic vision seen by a new generation of Negroes as Mansart lay dying:

"We're here to watch the ending of a life. It was a good life but it was ineffective. Our professional men and civil servants are paralyzed into silence and inactivity. They practice their professions, work hard, make good money and keep still. They buy cars and refrigerators, rent better apartments, often even buy and build; their bank credit is good. But when all is said and done, what does it all add up to? The most you can say of the Negro is that he is rising from the nether to the upper hell. It is the paradox of our age that we, the largest group of Negroes in the world with sufficent education and cultural status to place us among civilized people . . . are actually falling behind our motherland, Africa. Ethiopia and the Sudan surpass us in political organization. Ghana and Nigeria, which began by seeking education in our colleges, are now forging ahead of us in grasp of modern cultural problems and in ability to meet Europe and Asia face to face as equals. Today we carry almost no weight politically. Our congressmen are for the most part nonentities. Our dozen or so legislators champion no great causes. Our judges almost all hew to the standard line; it's safe that way. We have been patient three hundred years. I'm dammed tired of patience. Yes, any kind of patience, even the patience of Manuel Mansart, bless him. I want to fight."

Only a genuine prophet can trace, as Du Bois has, the shortest line between two points without getting lost or failing to acknowledge some vital quotient on the way. The arc of agony and effort by the American Negro from Emancipation to yesterday has reached from uncertain promise to dead-end inertia. Today it is rising in a new arc; in Birmingham, in Montgomery, in Jackson. If the great works of W. E. B. Du Bois, from 1896 to 1960, are used to chart the pitch, the reach, the power and the potential of the black man's advance, it will not be long before he is orbiting this earth, looking down on the rest of us and inviting us to join the ascent.

Truman Nelson

**WORLDS OF COLOR, part 3 of a trilogy, THE BLACK FLAME; by W. E. B. Du Bois; 349 pp. $4.50. Part 1. THE ORDEAL OF MANSART, 316 pp., $3.50; part 2, MANSART BUILDS A SCHOOL, 367 pp., $4. The three volumes boxed, $10. Mainstream Publishers, 832 Broadway, N. Y. 3.*

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